

MÖRI HKATILÜK

(Hkat Language)

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Aclenle...

DSFWN

3rd Work-in-progress Edition

Möri Hkatilük contains three more written works, *Maljenmakir sik*
Ballatö towa WALS, *Hkattöl*, and *Bowerkarttesmitö ketek*.

Inventory

	Labial	Alveolar	Post-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Nasal	m (m)	n (n)			ŋ (nn ¹)	
Plosive	b (b)	t (t)			k (k)	ʔ
Fricative	β (w, bb ¹)	s (s)	ʃ (c, tt ¹ , ss ¹)	z (j)	x (h, kk ¹)	
Approximant				j (i, y ²)		
Trill		r (r)				
Lateral		l (l)				

	Front	Back
Close	i (i) y (ï)	u (u) u (ü)
Mid/Close-Mid	e (e) œ (ë)	ɤ (o) o (ö)
Open-Mid		ɔ: (á)
Open		a ~ a ⁴ (a)

The consonant (top) and the vowel (bottom) phoneme inventories of Hkati, with the corresponding orthographical representation in parentheses.

Allophony

1 — Hkati forbids most instances of gemination; except for /j/. /bb/, /tt/, /ss/, /kk/, and /nn/ become /β/, /f/, /f/ again, /x/, and /ŋ/ respectively. The double consonants are preserved in spelling: /seβis/ *sebbis*, /sefusər/ *settüsër*, /zaʃus/ *jassus*, /axən/ *akkën*, and /aŋə/ *annë*. Other clusters like /rr/ and /ll/ are just /r/ and /l/, no gemination.

2 — /j/ is written as *y* on the boundaries of words, and after /œ/; while inside, written as *i*: /ajlən/ *ailën*, /juk/ *yük*.

3 — Almost interchangeable, but *ä* is used in the final syllable in loanwords with it, such as *cadä*.

4 — Depending on the consonant preceeding it, “a” is either /a/ (after labial and alveolar consonants) or /ɑ/ (after post-alveolar, palatal, and velar consonants).

5 — When two vowels come in contact across syllables, a diphthong is not form; instead, in some words, a /x/ is inserted, or the vowel furthest back and lowest in the mouth assimilated to the one closest to the front and roof of the mouth, or merge if they are the same, /e.a/ becomes /e/, /i.u/ becomes /i/, etc.

Conventions

Contact the author at folcr.b@gmail.com. Be aware of spelling mistakes.

Many suffixes encode transitivity, alongside other morphemes—which depends on the transitivity of the verb. In interlinear glossing, I write the transitivity as an inherent element of the verb, and the suffixes which depend on transitivity after that do not have “TR”, “INTR” or “DITR”, but are assumed to, even if not written, because it is determined by the verb’s transitivity, which is written.

“Verb.TR – suffix/[TR]”

I’ll use an example from Causative:

haci satakñë tamarrëmabti
haci satak-në tamar -rëm -abti
Haci cup -ACC rise.INTR -PST -CAUS
“Haci raised the cup.”

The finite verb here, *tamar*, is naturally intransitive, and the suffixes that are attached to it agree to that intransitivity, but the INTR morpheme is kept out of the gloss for easier reading and better visuals. The “full” version would look like this:

haci satakñë tamarrëmabti
haci satak-në tamar -rëm -abti
Haci cup -ACC rise.INTR -PST.INTR -CAUS.INTR
“Haci raised the cup.”

And that is wasting space!

It is expected that the reader is familiar with interlinear glossing abbreviations, a good list of them can be found and referenced on [wikipedia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Interlinear_glossing_abbreviations). This document does use some of its own abbreviations, such as “F” for finite, “SINF” for simple infinite, and “CINF” for complex infinite.

This document will use the singular/plural epicene *they/them/their* in translations of *se*, the 3rd person pronoun. **Personal names are not capitalized in Hkati.**

Hkati words are (almost) always naturally singular, even if the dictionary says them collectively in English. For example, *sě* is “(1) rice; edible cereal grass of the Oryzoideae”, but it technically means a “grain of rice”, a single “rice”, and the sense in the definition is really *sětö*, “grains of rice”. Keep this in mind, it cannot be forgotten.

The Hkati dictionary is accessible here:

<https://lexiconga.com/406383207>

Word Order

Hkati word order is somewhat fluid, because the grammatical person of the subject is marked on the verb, and the subject as a noun is unmarked,ⁱ while the object and locative objects, etc., are marked—but there are some fixed rules.

In ditransitive clauses, where there are multiple objects, they are strung together one after the other in logical order:

senë hurnë boleserëmbar

se-në hur -në bol -eserëm -bar

3 -ACC house -ACC give.DITR -PST -1.SUBJ

“I gave them a house.”

Arguments can be reordered to add emphasis to them; to use the same example.

boleserëmbar senë hurnë

bol -eserëm -bar se-në hur -në

give.DITR -PST -1.SUBJ 3 -ACC house -ACC

“I gave them a house.” (with spoken emphasis on *boleserëmbar*)

Simple infinite verbs always come after the finite verb, like adverbs. Complex infinite verb phrases come after the conjunction, etc., that goes between it and the finite verb.

senë jalanrebamikën hurtá actanbar

se-në jalan -re -bam -ikën hur -tá

3 -ACC call.TR-PST -1.SUBJ -while house-ILL

actan -bar

run.CINF.INTR -1.SUBJ

“I called them while running home.”

Adverbs and adjectives are both postpositional, coming after the word they are modifying. Adverbs go after question words like *mele* (see Interrogative).

Multiple genitives are ordered like so:

yük reretën bisäten “My goat’s fur.”

Genitive and other cases may cause some confusion:

“from my house”

hurwacën bisatën (?)

The above sentence is ungrammatical, it is actually:

hur bisatenwacën

The accusative is the exception to this rule, it goes on the noun no matter what, and not any attributive/genitive.

When conjunctions and adverbs are on the same verb, the conjunctions go on the dummy pronoun *hät* (see Conjunctions); which can extend over several verbs and cover the clause(s) behind.

Animacy

Hkati nouns are one of two classes/genders: animate, or inanimate.

The former constitutes: (1) people, organisms, other living things; *naro* “person”, *yük* “goat”. (2) objects that are usually, or naturally, in obvious motion; *cöwel* “the sun”, *rīb* “water”, *bule* “cloud”. And (3) things that come from living things, *sübhü* “milk”, *yun* “blood”, *bël* “sweat”.

While the latter constitutes most other things, including: (1) dead organisms and people; *sanör* “corpse”. (2) unnatural, or not-alive things, and man-made structures; *nöt* “rock”, *hur* “house”, *tabra* “mountain”.

Cases

Nouns decline for seven cases.

(1) Nominative; (a) subject/agent of an intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive verb—it is marked with a null-morpheme for both animate and inanimate nouns; that is to say, it is not marked: *ailën bisnë rösre*.

(2) Accusative; (a) object/patient of any verb, transitive or ditransitive. The accusative is marked with the *-në* suffix for both animate and inanimate nouns: *ailën bisnë rösre*.

(3) Genitive; (a) possessor as an attributive adjective of the possessed. Marked with *-atën* for animate nouns, and *-tënën* for inanimate nouns: *je anātën* “my pants”.

The next four are the locative cases—in Hkati, a sentence like *ailën yītüsër lëbsërëm* “the cow grazed around the field”, is considered intransitive, *yītüsër* (*yī* “field” + *-tüsër* “Addessive suffix”) is not understood as an object, but a postposition, or adverb; thus the verb *lëbsë* is marked according to the intransitivity. Whereas, in *ailën bisnë rösre* “the cow mooed at me”, there is an object, *bisnë* “me”, making it transitive (see Transitivity, Causative, for more).

Locative cases are concerned with **physical movement and position**; so *bisrá jalanrëmtar* “you called towards me”, is ungrammatical, because *jalan* “call” isn’t an inherently illative verb, there isn’t any inherent motion through space, nor is there any position; so instead: *bisnë jalanretar* “you called me”—whereas for a verb like *cumeme* “walk, go”, there is a destination. Genitive can interfere with other cases, and vice versa, see Word Order.

(4) Ablative; (a) the object which the subject moves away from—*hurwacën cumemebar* “I’m walking away from the/a house”; the ablative suffix is *-wacën* for both animate and inanimate nouns.

(5) Illative; (a) the object which the subject moves towards, or into—*kölatá kukurrëmbar* “I crawled into the hole”; the illative suffix is *-rá* for animate nouns, and *-tá* for inanimate nouns.

(6) Inessive; (a) the object which the subject is inside—*köläjerë lüksábar* “I am standing inside the hole”; the inessive suffix is *-jer* for animate nouns, and *-jerë* for inanimate nouns.

(7) Addessive; (a) the object which the subject is outside of, (b) near, around, or (c) on the surface of—*settüsër silöm cülür* “The plates are on the table”; the addessive suffix is *-tüs* for animate nouns, and *-tüsër* for inanimate nouns.

Some case suffixes are omitted, see Postpositions.

Number

Furthermore, nouns decline for number, and there are several number-encoding suffixes.

(1) General plural; more than one; *-tö*.

<i>yük</i>	<i>naro</i>	<i>tabra</i>	<i>kën</i>
“goat”	“person”	“mountain”	“bone”
<i>yüktö</i>	<i>narotö</i>	<i>tabratö</i>	<i>këntö</i>
“goats”	“people”	“mountains”	“bones”

(2) Animate group/“tribal”; a group of people or organisms, specifically a defined group, herd, tribe, etc; *-mën*.

<i>hkat</i>	<i>ailën</i>	<i>hur</i>
“a Hkat”	“cow”	“house”
<i>hkatmën</i>	<i>ailënmën</i>	<i>hurmën</i>
“(a group of) Hkats”	“herd of cows”	“village”

(3) Total/mass; “every”, “all”; *-makir*.

<i>naro</i>	<i>etc.</i> ,
“person”	
<i>naromakir</i>	
“everyone”	

Some nouns are lexically collective;ⁱⁱ otherwise, collective nouns are derived with adding *-l* to *-tö*.

<i>hkat</i>	<i>naro</i>	<i>cöwel</i>
“a Hkat”	“person/human”	“the Sun”
<i>hkattöl</i>	<i>narotöl</i>	<i>cöweltöl</i>
“the Hkati people”	“humanity”	“the stars”

Diminitive; Augmentative

Hakti has several diminitive¹ and augmentative² suffixes, for different parts of speech. In order of most productive diminitive

1 “Of or pertaining to, or creating a word form expressing smallness, youth, unimportance, or endearment.” ([wiktionary](#))

2 “A form of word that expresses large size, intensity, or seniority.” Opposite of diminitive.

suffixes: (1) *-tek*; for any inanimate noun, or adjective. (2) *-cäk*; for any animate noun, or any adjective. (3) *-cik*; for people-related animate nouns; may be reduplicated. (4) *-cici*; for verbs and adverbs.

<i>set</i>	<i>yük</i>	<i>samarat</i>	<i>cernen</i>
“table”	“goat”	“man”	“throw”
<i>settek</i>	<i>yükcäk</i>	<i>samaratcik</i>	<i>cernencici</i>
“small table”	“kid (goat)”	“young man”	“toss, throw short”

In order of most productive augmentative suffixes: (1) *-tah*; for any part of speech. (2) *-ow*; for people-related animate nouns.

<i>nöt</i>	<i>hur</i>	<i>hkat</i>	<i>bicahmir</i>
“rock”	“house”	“person” ³	“warrior”
<i>nöttah</i>	<i>hurtah</i>	<i>hkatow</i>	<i>bicahmirow</i>
“boulder”	“castle, fort”	“leader”	“commander”

Furthermore, adjectives (see Adjectives) can be “intensified” by the *-tah* suffix, plus the previous syllable; minus a coda consonant if there is one, like so:

<i>nenjerrüt</i>	<i>licöw</i>
“full” ⁴	“warm, hot”
<i>nenjerrüttahrü</i>	<i>licöwtahcö</i>
(aprox) “overflowing” ⁵	“scorching, burning hot”

Noun Derivation

Nouns can be derived from many parts of speech—see Number for deriving collective nouns. The suffix *-hil/il* is related to *-ilic* (see Verbs), which forms verbs from nouns, and means “to become [the root]”. *-hil* derives an “abstract noun”, or a result, from a verb, adjective, or other noun.

<i>bolo</i>	<i>licöw</i>	<i>bile</i>
“give”	“warm”	“body”
<i>bolohil</i>	<i>licöwhil</i>	<i>bilil</i>

3 Specifically a Hkat.

4 As in, full of food, a satisfied appetite.

5 Or, bloated, food-drunk, etc.

“giving” ⁶	“warmth”	“physical existence”	
<i>biliek</i>	<i>barikabti</i>	<i>tetem</i>	<i>koküs</i>
“build”	“destroy”	“try”	“talk”
<i>biliekhil</i>	<i>barikabtihil</i>	<i>tetemhil</i>	<i>koküshil</i>
“building”	“destruction”	“an attempt”	“(approx) discussion”

See Dimunitive; Augmentative for more derivations.

The suffix *-ki*ⁱⁱⁱ derives nouns from other nouns, that refer to a person who is involved in the “expression” of the noun, or “does”, “deals/handles”—this is called an agent nominalizing suffix⁷—these derived nouns can sometimes have many meanings.

<i>bile</i>	<i>bolohil</i>	<i>tën</i>	<i>hurtah</i>
“body”	“transaction”	“spear”	“castle”
<i>bileki</i>	<i>bolohilki</i>	<i>tënki</i>	<i>hurtahki</i>
“physician”	“trader”	“spearman”	“guard, soldier”

-ki can be added to *-wacën* (ablative suffix, see Cases), to derive nouns meaning “belonging to, or from”. In this construction, *-ki* becomes *-kë*. And sometimes, it can just be used alone for the same meaning, but when it is, it’s usually not people, but other animates.

<i>wimjejöm</i>	<i>hacat</i>	<i>ailën</i>
“grassland”	“paper”	“cow”
<i>wimjejömwacënkë</i>	<i>hacatwacënkë</i> ⁸	<i>ailënkë</i>
“grasslander” ^{iv}	“fictional character”	“calf” ⁹

-ki plus *-tüś* (adessive case, see Cases) can form nouns meaning “the place of [root]” from verbs and other parts of speech (but usually verbs). It is also reduced to *-tüśkë*.

<i>lōktüśkë</i>	<i>tartüśkë</i>	<i>kalilictüśkë</i>
“death-place”	“fighting place, arena”	“sleeping place” ¹⁰

6 Or, transaction, trade.

7 Equivalent of “-er” in English

8 Literally, “person from paper”.

9 Not a common word, *ailëncäk*, dimunitive of *ailën*, is used more often.

10 Especially if it is of poor quality or not a true bed—like a specific section of the floor where one sleeps. A bed is *kal*.

-*cil* also derives nouns meaning “performer”, or “doer” of the root, but can only be used for verbs (-*ki* can only be used for nouns). This suffix changes the previous vowel its attached to *i*, unless it’s also rounded.

<i>barikabti</i>	<i>cumeme</i>	<i>lökabti</i>	<i>sic</i>
“destroy”	“go, walk”	“kill”	“write, draw”
<i>barikabtïcil</i>	<i>cumemicil</i>	<i>lökabtïcil</i>	<i>sicil</i>
“destroyer”	“pedestrian” ¹¹	“killer”	“artist”

Nouns can be derived from adjectives, by those adjectives first becoming verbs with the suffix -*ilic* (see Verbs), and then -*cil* being applied.

<i>matilic</i>	<i>licoletilic</i>	<i>wekilic</i>
“burn”	“enrage”	“dig”
<i>matiliccil</i>	<i>licoletiliccil</i>	<i>wekiliccil</i>
“arsonist” ¹²	“asshole” ¹³	“digger”

Transitivity

Transitivity is the property of a verb that determines how many objects it can take. An intransitive verb cannot take any, such as “I fly”, a transitive verb can take one, “I see you”, and a ditransitive can take two, “I gave you a dollar”, and so on.

Objects with locative suffixes are not counted as objects, but more like adverbs or modifying phrases. If an object is marked with -*ně*, the accusative suffix, its verb is conjugated as transitive, ditransitive, etc., **unless** said verb has a causative suffix, which increases its transitivity, in order to take that object, or because of an object anaphor (see Anaphora).

Verbs

Hkati verbs conjugate, agglutinatively, for many grammatical categories, and are divided into three major conjugations: (1) finite,

11 Or a “walker”, someone transporting on foot.

12 Or any person who burns things, punishable or not.

13 As in, a person who makes someone angry, particularly because they’re disrespectful.

(2) simple infinite, and (3) complex finite; which are then subdivided into transitive, intransitive, and ditransitive.

Finite verbs are the immediate complements of a subject, and any verb with no modifying infinite verbs, is finite.

annë¹⁴ këlärnokam

“I see you”

Këlär “to see”, is finite. Simple infinite verbs are verbs in subclauses that, without a conjunction, other particle, are attached to independent clauses. The presence of infinite verbs does not affect the finite verb’s transitivity.

annë hurtá këlärnokam cumemenotar

an -në hur -tá këlär-nok -am cumeme-no
2 -ACC house-ILL see.F-PRS -1.SUBJ go.INF-PRS
-tar
-1.FOB

“I see (that) you(‘re) going into a house/inside”

The simple infinite verb agrees with the person and number of the “FOB” (finite object) which is the subject of the infinite verb; and the accusative-marked “object” of the finite verb; here the FOB is *annë*.

If the finite verb is intransitive, then is no FOB, the simple infinite verb is not marked with any person suffixes—but is marked with whatever other suffixes. This specifically is called an “auxilliary” verb.

tetemrëmar këlär

tetem -rëm -ar këlär -Ø¹⁵
try.INTR-PST -1.SUBJ see.SINF -INT.PRS

“I tried to see.”

Most important to understand is that the simple infinite is when the object of the finite verb is the subject of the infinite—if this is not

14 Should be *bisan*, which encompasses *bis* as the subject, and *an* as the object, but I use *annë* for better understanding (see Pronouns).

15 The infinite verb is present tense, because “I tried to *be seeing*”, not “I tried to saw/have seen.” That would be a confusing “double-past”

the case, and infinite verb is separated by a conjunction (other than -we), it is complex, even with a dummy pronoun, (see Conjunctions).

annë jalanrebamsarhe yüktö biswacën actanrëmbär
an -në jalan -re -bam -sarhe yük-tö bis-wacën
 2 -ACC call.TR-PST-1 -because goat-PL 1 -ABL
actan -rëm -bar
 run.CINF.INTR -PST -1.SUBJ

“I called you because the goats were running away from me.”

Verbs can be derived from other parts of speech with two suffixes. (1) *-täj*, which is a truncation of the reflexive suffix *-täjä*r. This suffix derives verbs that approximately mean “to gain, or ‘do’, [the root]”; for example:

<i>ailën</i>	<i>bïcahmïr</i>	<i>hacat</i>
“cow”	“warrior”	“paper”
<i>ailëntäj</i>	<i>bïcahmirtäj</i>	<i>hacattäj</i>
“to milk”	“raise (a levy)”	“print”

(2) *-ilic*. This suffix derives verbs that mean “to become [the root]”, and it can be used on any part of speech.

<i>samaratow</i>	<i>mat</i>	<i>licöw</i>
“grown man”	“fire”	“warm, hot”
<i>samaratowilic</i>	<i>matilic</i>	<i>licöwilic</i>
“to come of age”	“burn, combust”	“heat up, to warm”

Furthermore, some verbs can be derived from nouns in the causative construction (see Causative).

Conjugation

The order of agglutination of Hkati conjugation categories goes as follows: (1) present; (2) future; (3) past; (4) passive voice; (5) reflexive voice; (6) reciprocal voice; (7) the person of subject (8) singular subject or plural subject. These eight categories are represented by suffixes, that depend on the finiteness, and transitivity of the verb. The object-turned-subject stays accusative in the passive, and with two nouns, both are accusative.^{vi}

Finite (F)

	Transitive (TR)	Intransitive (INTR)	Ditransitive (DITR)
PRS/CONT	-nok	-Ø	-ese + INT tense ^{vii}
FUT	-(h)al	-(h)at	
PST	-re	-rēm	
PAS	-ji	-jit	
REFL	-tājār	-tājār	-tājār
RECIP	-(o)c(o)	-(o)c(o)	-(o)c(o)
1.SUBJ	-(b)am	-(b)ar	-(b)ar
2.SUBJ	-tar	-tar	-tar
3.SUBJ	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø
SNG.SUBJ	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø
PL.SUBJ	-lVfr	-lVfr	-lVfr

Vf = the previous verb, which is usually /a/, because of *-(b)ar* and *-tar*.

Simple Infinite (SINF)

	Transitive (TR)	Intransitive (INTR)	Ditransitive (DITR)
PRS/CONT	-no	-Ø	-ese + INT tense
FUT	-a (or -Ø)	-at (or -t)	
PST	-r(e)	-rēm	
PAS	-ji	-jit	
REFL	-tājār	-tājār	-tājār
RECIP	-(o)c(o)	-(o)c(o)	-(o)c(o)
1.FOB	-(b)ar	-(b)ar	-(b)ar
2.FOB	-tar	-tar	-tar
3.FOB	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø
SNG.FOB	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø
PL.FOB	-lVfr	-lVfr	-lVfr

(See Verbs for FOB)

Complex Infinite (CINF)

	Transitive (TR)	Intransitive (INTR)	Ditransitive (DITR)
PRS/CONT	-no	-Ø	-ese + INTR tense
FUT	-a (or -Ø)	-at (or -t)	
PST	-r(e)	-rēm	
PAS	-jir	-jitār	
REFL	-tājār	-tājār	-tājār
RECIP	-(o)c(o)	-(o)c(o)	-(o)c(o)
1.SUBJ	-(b)ar	-(b)ar	-(b)ar
2.SUBJ	-tar	-tar	-tar
3.SUBJ	-bik	-bik	-bik
SNG.SUBJ	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø
PL.SUBJ	-lVfr	-lVfr	-lVfr

Parts of the suffixes in parenthesis are either optional, or are there to separate syllables, *boleserëm(b)ar* is an optional example, and *bolesebar* is a separation example—neither rules are too important!

Causative

The causative construction makes a verb causative (and increases transitivity by one); in this process, the subject of the verb becomes the object, the causee, of the causer, which is the new subject. *-abti* for transitive verbs; and *-abtët* for transitive, and ditransitive verbs.

(a) Intransitive:

satak tamarrëm
satak tamar -rëm
cup rise.INTR-PST
 “The cup rose.”

Causative Intransitive:

haci satakñë tamarrëmbti
haci satak-në tamar -rëm -abti
Haci cup -ACC rise.INTR -PST -CAUS
 “Haci raised the cup.”

(b) Causative transitive:

annë bisñë këlärrebamabtët
an-në bis-në këlär -re -bam -abtët
2 -ACC 1 -ACC see.TR -PST -1.SUBJ -CAUS
 “I made you look at me”

The causee and its object (etc.) are differentiated syntactically, by the former being before, and the latter, after.

(c) Ditransitive: the three objects of the causative ditransitive verb (tritransitive...) are all marked in the accusative, and in the same logical order as the causative transitive, and dative. *Annë bisñë malñë boleserëmbamabtët* “I made you give me the book” (No gloss necessary).

Some verbs can be derived with the causative suffix for intransitive verbs: *-abti*, with nouns. For example, *mal* “book” + *-abti*, *malabti*

“to make/write a book”,¹⁶ which is an intransitive verb—and can be made more valent with the causative again. The causative suffix comes after suffixes for tense, voice, person, and number—and only changes the valency after the fact; so, an intransitive verb becoming transitive via the causative construction would inflect with intransitive suffixes, not transitive ones, like in all the examples in this section thusfar.

Participles

There is a participle for each of the three tenses (present, future, past) in Hkati. They function like adjectives and adverbs.

The construction of each participle uses modified versions of the complex infinite (CINF) (see Verbs), and the transitive, or intransitive suffixes, depending on the verb being participIALIZED. The appropriate modified tense suffix is used as the later part of a circumfix that surrounds the last syllable of the verb.¹⁷ Below is the paradigm.

	Animate (I)		Inanimate (II)	
	Transitive (TR)	Intransitive (INTR)	Transitive (TR)	Intransitive (INTR)
PRS/CONT	t- -no	t- -Ø	k- -ni	k- -Ø
FUT	t- -a (or -Ø)	t- -at (or -t)	k- -i (or -Ø)	k- -al (or -l)
PST		r- -rö	rö- -r(i)	rö- -ri
<i>actan</i>		<i>lökabti</i> ¹⁸		<i>liji</i>
“run” (INTR)		“kill” (TR)		“fall” (INTR)
<i>yük acttanno</i>		<i>samarat lökabtti</i>		<i>nöt liröjiri</i>
“running goat”		“going-to-be-killed man”		“fallen rock”
<i>cernen</i>		<i>etc.</i>		
“throw” (TR)		<i>1 and 2 are animate,</i>		
<i>nöt cerrönenri</i>		<i>3 and 4 are inanimate,</i>		
“thrown rock”		<i>left-to-right, top-to bottom; the examples!</i>		

16 Not the same as *sic* which is a more general word for “to write”.

17 Unless it is one syllable, in which only the later part is used.

18 Causative derived form of *lök* “die” (INTR).

Adjectives

Hkati makes a morphological distinction between predicative, and attributive adjectives. Predicate adjectives can be roots (lexical), or derived from nouns—for example: *licōw* “warm, hot” is a root, while *ribka* “wet” is derived from *rib* “water”. Unlike attributive adjectives, they are not formed with the genitive case.

The copular verb *cū* “to be” is not used for predicative adjectives, instead *wá* is used. When a predicative adjective is the object (transitive), it takes the accusative suffix *-nē*, and as the subject, it is *de facto* nominalized into a general, or abstract noun. Examples: *kēbtá*¹⁹ *ribkanē* *wánok* “the dirt is wet”, or *catā* *catānē* *wánok* “brightness is bright”.

Attributive adjectives are, too, either derived or lexical; they are postnominal.²⁰ Possessors with the genitive suffixes, *-atēn* and *-tēnēn* (animate; inanimate, respectively), are treated as attributive adjectives—*hur* *hacitēn* “Haci’s house”, *hacat* *maltēnēn* “book’s paper” (both genitive examples), *kōla* *weko* “deep tunnel”, *kēbtá* *ribka* “wet dirt”.

Adjectives can be derived in several ways—depending on animacy, and the part of speech. Adjectives are derived from root verbs²¹ with the suffix *-Vcī*, where *V* is the previous vowel; these verb-derived adjectives often double as adverbs.

<i>kēlār</i>	<i>lēbsē</i>	<i>rocinnēlār</i>
“see, look”	“graze”	“observe, study”
<i>kēlārācī</i>	<i>lēbsēcī</i>	<i>rocinnēlārācī</i>
“seeing” ²²	“leisurely”	“observational”

Genitive-marked nouns are considered adjectives, and that has been discussed previously in this section—the other ways that adjectives are derived from nouns are with several suffixes. (1) Semblative; forms adjectives that are “like” (but not exactly, a semblance) the

19 The *-tá* ending here is not the illative suffix.

20 They are placed in an adjective phrase after the noun which they modify.

21 Not participles, which have tense information in them.

22 A potential term for people who can see, as opposed to the blind.

root noun; *-la*²³ for animate nouns, and *-li* for inanimate nouns. With words like *awcur* “north” it means “about, almost, off”.

<i>naro</i>	<i>kën</i>	<i>awcur</i>
“human”	“bone”	“north”
<i>narala</i>	<i>kënli</i>	<i>awcurli</i>
“humanoid”	“bone-like, ossified”	“about north”

(2) Qualitative; forms adjectives that are of, relating to, etc., of the root noun; *-lük* for animate nouns, and *-sül* for inanimate nouns.

<i>ailën</i>	<i>cöwel</i>	<i>bile</i>	<i>këbtá</i>
“cow”	“the sun”	“body”	“dirt, ground”
<i>ailënlük</i>	<i>cöwelsül</i>	<i>bilelük</i>	<i>këbtásül</i>
“bovine”	“solar”	“bodily”	“terrestrial”

The qualitative suffix is truncated and (optionally) unrounded to *-lu*, and *-su*, for inate nouns like *waram* “length”, to *waramlu* “long”.

(3) Containative; forms adjectives that contain, or are made up of the root noun; uses one suffix for animate and inanimate: *-lalëm*.

<i>sübhü</i>	<i>rosles</i>
“milk”	“sound”
<i>sübhülalëm</i>	<i>rosleslalëm</i>
“has milk; lactose”	“audible”

(4) “Anti-containative” or without-marking; forms an adjectives that do not contain the root noun, but lack it; one suffix, *-meksüs*.

<i>sübhü</i>	<i>wim</i>
“milk”	“grass, foliage”
<i>sübhümexsüs</i>	<i>wimmexsüs</i>
“without milk/dairy”	“without foliage, barren”

Superlative adjectives are formed simply with a reduplicated suffix, without, if there is one, a final consonant. This is also used for the sense of “too ADJ”.

<i>kalü</i>	<i>tir</i>
-------------	------------

23 The vowel before *a* becomes *a* as well, as seen in the example.

“tall”	“thick”
<i>kalülü</i>	<i>tirti</i>
“tallest”, “too tall”	“thickest”, “too thick”

Used alongside the diminutive (see Diminutive; Augmentative) it describes the “least”—effectively a suffix *-tekte*.

<i>kalü</i>	<i>tir</i>
<i>kalütekte</i>	<i>tirtekte</i>
“least short”	“least thick”

Adjectives are not marked when their object is deleted if there is a *-ki* suffix. See Anaphora, and 61A Adjectives without Nouns.

Comparative

The comparative construction describes one thing as being more, or less, than another—*min* and *mīn*. In casual speech they are both pronounced *min*, but “more” tends to be *mintah* and “less” *mintek*.

kenlūknē²⁴ min annē mīn wesebar²⁵
kenlūk -nē min an -nē mīn
 height.PRED.ADJ-ACC more_than 2-ACC less_than
w -ese -bar
 COP-DITR-1.SUBJ
 “I am taller than you.”

As in the example above, the comparative is often a ditransitive sentence, with a predicative adjective (in this case, *kenlūk*) as the first object. *Wá* is used as the copula. *Min* (more) and *mīn* (less) function like adjectives. Depending on where those comparative particles go, determines what object is more or less than the other object.

kenlūknē mīn annē mīn wesebar
 “I am shorter than you”

Similarly, “X is as tall as Y” is constructed like the comparative, with *cūclī* instead of *min* and *mīn*; or it is constructed otherwise, like “X’s height is Y’s height”, and so on.

24 Qualitative adjective from *ken* “height”.

25 Ditransitive form of *wá*, undergoing rule 5 (see Allophony).

kenlūknē cūclī annē cūclī wesebar

“I am as tall as you.”

Relative Clauses

Relative clauses, or adjective clauses, are clauses that modify a noun, like in English: “The building that I went to yesterday was demolished”.

Relative clauses are prepositional, opposite of adjectives, and every verb inside them must conjugate for the complex infinite (see Verbs). The CINF verb takes an enclitic, *-tin*, which “anchors” the relative clause to the noun. The CINF conjugates in the transitive.

bisnē kēlārrebiktin naro hō hatūs wá

[bis-nē kēlār -re -bik]-tin naro hō

[1 -ACC see.CINF.TR-PST-3.SUBJ]-REL person that

hatūs wá

here COP.INTR

“The person who saw me is here.”

Negation

Hkati distinguishes between verbal (or sentence negation) and non-verbal negation (constituent negation). Transitive and ditransitive verbs are negated with an infix, *-mīl-*, which is inserted between the tense suffixes and voice (if there are none, the personal²⁶ suffixes instead) suffixes.

bisan kēlārremīlbam

bis -an kēlār -re -mīl -bam

1.SUBJ-2.OBJ see.TR -PST -NEG -1.SUBJ

“I didn’t see you.”

Intransitive verbs use the same affix, but it is a suffix, and goes after all others; *-mīl*.

kēlārremāmīl

kēlār -rēm -bam -mīl

see.NTR -PST -1.SUBJ -NEG

“I didn’t see.”

26 1st, 2nd, 3rd.

All other arguments are negated with *-me*, which is effectively the same as “non-”.

yükme *wekome* *etc.*
 “not goat” “not deep”

See Adjectives for a suffix that derive adjectives meaning “without...” from nouns.

Pronouns

Hkati has independent personal pronouns, with no gender (or sex-based) distinction. Hkati is also pro-drop for the subject, since the subject’s person is already marked on the verb (see Conjugation).

	Subject	Object	Reflexive
1st Person (1)	bis	bisnë	bisjä
2nd Person (2)	an	annë	nanjä
3rd Person (3)	se	senë	sejä

Pronouns can be marked with cases, as in the case of the object pronouns above.

When a transitive verb’s subject and object are both personal pronouns, a special “merged form” is used; thus, the following is ungrammatical (although it has been used earlier):

bis annë këlärrebam
bis an -në këlär -re -bam
1 2-ACC see.TR -PST -1.SUBJ

And instead:

bisan këlärrebam
bis -an këlär -re -bam
1.SUBJ-2.OBJ see.TR -PST -1.SUBJ

Below is the full chart, with the subject person on the left, and object^{viii} person on the top.

	1.OBJ	2.OBJ	3.OBJ
1.SUBJ	bisjä	bisan	bisse
2.SUBJ	nanbis	nanjä	nasse
3.SUBJ	sebbis	sehan	sejä

Hkati has some gendered particles that are used as hails, and vocatives.²⁷

	Masculine	Feminine	Epicene
Hail	annar	annil	yan
Vocative	anan	anin	anin
<i>annar!</i>	<i>annil</i>	<i>yan!</i>	
“hey (to men)! ”	“hey (to women!) ”	“hey (to anyone!) ”	
<i>anan haci...</i>	<i>annil wisölö...</i>	<i>yan narocik...</i>	
<i>(no good translation to English!)</i>			

Anaphora

An anaphor is an expression, which relies on an antecedent, that refers thereto—they are important for making sentences shorter; in that sense, they are similar to pronouns.

Hkati rarely does anaphoric deletion, where an object is deleted from a sentence because it should be obvious, like finding something and saying “I found!” instead of “I found them!”.

Furthermore, to use that example, “I found them”, Hkati doesn’t use *se* (in this situation, the object of “found”; thus, *senë*) to refer to that something; instead, a unique suffix is used, *-ki*; as an object this does make a verb transitive, the exception to the requirement of *-në* (see Transitivity).

*herenë*²⁸ *sostabetrebam, sostisrebamki.*
here-në sostabet -re -bam, sostis -re -bam
man -ACC look_for.TR-PST-1.SUBJ find.TR-PST-1.SUBJ
-ki
ANA.OBJ

“I was looking for my husband, I found him.”

For nouns modified by only a number, *-ki* can be used, and the number alone.

Annë beribī boleserebamki

“I gave you 100 (of them).”

²⁷ When you address someone, like “Paul, did you...”

²⁸ A term for an important man in one’s life, usually used by women to refer to husbands.

-*ki* can also be used as the subject, referencing the subject or object of the previous clause. It replaces the person suffix, except in complex infinite phrases, where they do not.

siltönë büherewe barikabtirëmkilir

sil -tö-në bühe -re -we barikabti -rëm
plate-PL-ACC drop.TR.3-PST -and broke.INTR -PST
-ki -lir
-ANA.SUBJ-PL.SUBJ

“They dropped the plates, and they broke.”

Luckily, due to verbs being marked for person, personal anaphora vs. non-personal anaphora (in the sentence above, whether the second “they” is the first “they” or “the plates”) is nothing to worry about.

Demonstratives can also be anaphoric pronouns; see below. For the dummy pronoun *hät*, see Conjunctions.

Demonstratives

Demonstratives are pronouns which indicate and differentiate things in context, like “this house” or “that guy”, and so on. They are postnominal, like adjectives. Hkati makes a proximal-distal distinction—where “proximal” demonstratives are nearby the speaker, and “distal” are far away.

	Proximal	Distal
Animate personal ²⁹	ha	hö
Animate non-personal	há	hák
Inanimate	hawám	höwöm
<i>kin ha/hö</i>	<i>yük há/hák</i>	<i>hur hawám/höwöm</i>
“this/that girl”	“this/that goat”	“this/that house”

Demonstratives on their own as arguments are more like pronouns, and can be understood as “this/that person/person”.

hö bisnë këlärçicire

“That person glanced at me.”

²⁹ People, as opposed to animals and other animate, non-people things.

Demonstratives are used as anaphors for adjectives and verbs:

wawik licoletnë wárewë höñë wárebam(ta)
wawik licolet -në wá -re -we hö
Wawik angry.PRED-ACC COP.TR -PST-and that.I.DIST
-në wá -re -bam (-ta)
-ACC COP.TR-PST-1.SUBJ (-too)
“Wawik was angry; so was I.”

Here, *hö* is referencing *licoletnë*, which uses the animate-personal, and distal demonstrative since the subject of the sentence with that predicative adjective is a person, and the copula is in the past. Another way to say that sentence is: “Wawik was angry, that I was (too).” The “too” is optional, since it can be inferred from context. For verbs, it is a bit more unintuitive.

wawik actanrëmwë ha bis hät
wawik actan -rëmwë ha bis (hät)
Wawik run.INTR -PST -and that.I.PROX 1 (EXP)
“Wawik ran, I did too.”

The “EXP” or “expletive” is a dummy word, that, if the sentence were to continue, would have conjunctions attaches to it.

Demonstratives may have locative cases attached to them to serve as a word like “here” (*hätüs*), or “away from here” (*hawámwacën*).

Postpositions

Postpositions, like the locative cases, encode spatial, or motion information—but postpositions specifically, are independent words, unlike the cases. I will give a few examples to illustrate, they are not complex; but do require an appropriate or relevant case.

nöttötüser lülün *bistüs antüs lülün*
“between rocks” “between me and you”³⁰

Below is a list of some common, or useful postpositions, and their appropriate cases. [This list is subject to change, consult dictionary]

30 Physically, literally, between our bodies.

- *Lülün*, “between”, adessive.
- *Aclenle*, “for, dedicated to”, none.
- *Bü*, “for, purpose”, none.
- *Kaka*, “about, regarding”, none, but sometimes illative, or adessive.
- *Hire*, “against, in opposition to”, none.

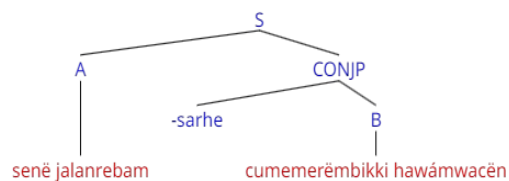
“With” is separated by *comitative* and *instrumental*; the latter being the sense of “with someone” or “alongside”, and the latter: “with something”, or “via”. These two words are *kak*, and *sik*. There is a third relator, *-inës*. See “63A Noun Phrase Conjunction” for the different uses.

Conjunctions

Conjunctions are suffixes (in the case of verbs and particle) and independent words (in the case of other parts of speech) that connect words, phrases, and or clauses together. The words, phrases, or clauses, that are connected by the conjunction are called “conjuncts”.

The preconjunct, and postconjunct, which are the conjunct before and after respectively, have the following relationship:

The postconjunct modifies the preconjunct—unless it is *-we* “and”—and thus the postconjunct is a dependant clause (also called a subclause), and cannot stand on its own:

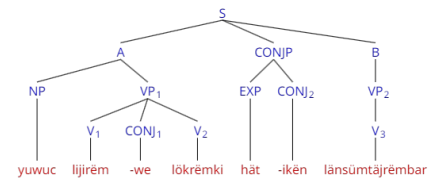


*senë jalanrebam**sarhe* *cumemerëmbikki hawámwacën*

“I called them because they walked away.”

There is a “dummy” pronoun, *hät* (glossed as EXP³¹), which is used with anaphoric demonstratives (see Demonstratives), but, more narrowly, its purpose is as a vehicle for multi-clause conjunction—it connects a multi-verb clause, which has an internal structure with multiple conjuncts therein; for example: “the tree fell and died while I lived”—there is a preconjunct, “the tree fell and died” and a postconjunct, “I lived”, connected by “while”, and the preconjunct has an internal structure, with two conjuncts, “the tree fell” and “(the tree) died”—*hät* is used to make “while” govern “the tree fell and died” as one preconjunct.

yuwuc lijirēmwe lökrēmki hätikēn länsümtäjrēmbar
 “(the) Tree fell and died while I lived”



Adjectives are strung together, and do not have any cumulative conjunctions.

kun rībmeksūs licōw
 “Dry (and) hot day”

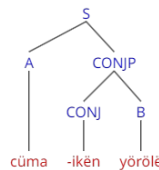
Here is a incomplete list of the the most productive conjunctions:

-*sarhe*; “because, for” (see above for example), and also intent.

letarmeksūsne wārebamsarhe weialkaka bisatēn acilicrēmbiklir
 “I was starving because my meat rotted.”

-*ikēn*; “while, during”.

cūmaikēn yörölē^{ix}
 “(to) bathe while sing(ing)”



-*a*; “but” (adversative, contrasting a clause with another).

wābara wābarmil
 “I am, but I am not.”

-*ta*; “too, also, including” (attached to the second verb, infinite, or finite)

-*lännän*; “after” (X Y after Z).

31 Expletive.

länsümtäjlännän muladirëmjitärbik

“They lived after being born.”

-we; “and” (cumulative, verbs) (does not make a clause complex infinite, but separates finite clauses, see Verbs)

cumemebamwe cumemebat

“I go and I go.”

koküsarwe actantar

“I’m talking and you’re running.”

wa “and” (nouns)

bis wa an

“I and you.”

he “or”.

samarat he kin wataräk?

“Are you a man or a woman?”

Interrogative

Hkati relies on intonation, and interrogative words to ask most questions, since the interrogative suffix is very reduced, being just *-(ä)k*, which is sometimes not even pronounced, especially in faster and informal speech.

meta hurtá cumemerëmk?

meta hur -tá cumeme -rëm -k

Meta home-ILL.II go.INTR-PST -INTERR

“Did Meta³² go home?”

This is a yes/no question, and they are usually answered by saying *awe* “yes” or *haiar* “no”, and stating the answer (in this case, that “he went”).

awe, (hurtá) cumemerëm “Yes, he went (home)”

Using the same example; but with *acwá* “where”,

meta cumemerëmk acwará?

32 Masculine given name.

meta cumeme -rēm -k acwá -rá
Meta go.INTR-PST -INTERR where-ILL.I

“(lit) Meta went where towards?”

Interrogative words go after the finite verb, and before any infinite verbs, if any; since they are not marked accusative, the sentence is still considered intransitive. *Acwá* can also be used as a term for “there”, when answering a question using it (see Demonstratives for other forms of “there”).

meta cumemerēm acwára? “where did Meta go?”
acwátüs “around/on/near there” **or** *acwá* “there”

Case endings can be used to change the specific meanings of interrogative words, and they often have to depending on the verb. The verb used previously, *cumeme* “go” usually is intransitive, because its object is locative. Some examples of other cases being used:

se lüksák acwátüs?
“(around) where are they standing?”
se actan acwáwacĕn?
“where are they running from?”
se wák acwájer?
“where is he?”/“what/which is he inside?”

The other interrogative words in Hkati are: *kam* “who, what person”, which can be used as “what/which” for animate nouns. The singular is usually used here. These words alone don’t need *-k* that is only for verbs.

narocĭk kam? *yük kam* *kam?*
“what/which person?” “what/which goat?” “who?”

Kunuie, which is the inanimate equivalent of *kam*.

hur kunuie? *maltek kunuie?* *kunuie?*
“what/which house?” “which/what pamphlet?” “what?”

Acwá has previously been discussed. *Hacan* means “when, at what time”. Verbs with *hacan* will always involve either a time in the past, or time in the future, but this word’s construction gets its own

unique tense suffixes, that are the same regardless of finiteness and transitivity: *-re* for the past, and *-ter* for the future.

senë koküjteräräk hacan?

se-në koküj -ter -tar -äk hacan

2 -ACC tell.TR-FUT.INTER-2.SUBJ-INTERR when

“When will you tell them?”

Mele is “how, in what manner”.

ailëntäjrëmtäräk mele?

ailëntäj -rëm -tar -äk mele

mil_cow.INTR -PST -2.SUBJ -INTERR how

“How did you milk a cow?”

Ta is “why”.

ailëntäjrëmtäräk ta?

ailëntäj -rëm -tar -äk ta

mil_cow.INTR -PST -2.SUBJ -INTERR why

“Why did you milk a cow?”

Imperative

The imperative, commanding, is done with a simple construction. An appropriate vocative particle, depending on the addressee or referent, (see Pronouns) must be used after the object, or where the object would be (after both if ditransitive, and so on); sometimes, the anaphoric object/subject suffix, *-ki* will be used instead of the object, if there is one (see Anaphora). Tense suffixes are not suffixed in the imperative. An intransitive example:

anin cilitarki

“(you) be ready!”

A transitive example:

bisnë anan koküjtar

“tell me” (lit. “me you-tell”)

To add emphasis, the verb can be placed in the initial position, or an augmentative can be applied to the vocative particle.

koküjtar bisnë ananow

“Tell me!”

Copulas

There are two main copulas in Hkati: *cü*, and *wá*. *Cü* is equative, and transitive:

cünoktäjäram

“I am myself.”

yük bisatën cünokmiltar

“You are not my goat.”

While, *wá* is for predicative adjectives, and intransitive “to be”.

wábar

“I am.”

kalünë wánokbam

“I am tall.”

Numerals

Hkati is base ten. (1) *be*, (2) *ak*, (3) *biier*, (4) *ahke*, (5) *bis*, (6) *ma*, (7) *akki*, (8) *bor*, (9) *ja*, (10) *bîn*, and (0) *këkëme*.³³

The counting is similar to Standard Chinese, albeit without classifiers, etc. For example, *be* “1”, *bebîn* “10”, *bebînbe* “11”, this will be expanded on in a later edition.

Name System

Hkati names (*hëmlätö hkatilük*)³⁴ are made of four parts—(1) the given name, *sötönhëmlän*; (2) the parental names, *sümannähëmlän*; (3) the clan name, *jasränhëmläri*; and (4) the geographic name, *jejömhëmlän*.

The given name translates to “love name” and a person can have several, but usually they use the one given to them by their parents. Some names are roots—in exogamous cases, the name is from a

³³ Literally “something-NEG”

³⁴ Or, *mörilük*.

different language (a *bohri*), like with the masculine given name *haci*, which comes from Crifuzn “Hadzi” and Yasāw “Hazi”. Native given names are usually derived from words which the parents want their child to embody—with a selection of suffixes: *-cī*, *-licä*, *-üwkä*, and others, which have been lost to time. For example: *actacī* (from *actan* meaning “run”, they want them to be fast or agile), *aillicäb* (from *ailën* “cow”, they want them to be good with livestock, which is likely the livelihood of the family), and *bowewkä* (from *bowekar* “word”, they want them to be good with words, smart, a good orator, or politically powerful, or successful).

The parental names are two, or one, name that is derived from a person’s parents. Hkati couples, or polycules (as polyandry and polygyny are things in Hkati society), often have one name that they identify as—so for example, *haci* from the previous example has a mother and a father, who both are formally called *cahbul*, the *cahbul* house or, together, *cahbultöw* (plural and augmentative, to describe them as the heads of their line); and the whole family as *cahbulmën*. They are distinguished by using vocatives, or sometimes with *samaratlük/yotlük* “masculine/fatherly” and *kinlük/yëwlük* “feminine/motherly” as an adjective to their parental name. *Sümannahëmlän* literally translated to “birth name”, and you can think of it as the name which connects you to your parents, names connected **by birth**. The formal singular name of the family, here *cahbul*, is the parental name.

The clan names are like if you had your citizenship, or ethnicity, as part of your name, like someone named “John (given) Smith (parental) English (clan name) Brummagem³⁵ (geographic name). Clan names are derived from names of “clans” and factions in Hkati society and it’s various polities over the centuries. They are formed with a compounded suffix of the tribal plural *-mën* and the ablative *-wacën*, resulting in *-mawacän*. *Sinkakkön**mawacän* would mean “from *Sinkakkön*”. Typically only upper class Hkati have a clan name.

The geographic names are names describing the place where you were born, the features, town, or region, you were born by or in. It

35 Term for Birmingham, England.

uses a cut version of the above suffix: *-wacan* with a version of the addessive (see Cases) *-tus*; thus, *-wacatus*. *Jabalwacatus* and *tabrawacatus* (both meaning “from (the) mountain”, but the former with the Crifuzn word *žabal*, and the latter with the Hkati word *tabra*) is an example.

This naming system is separate from nicknames and other appositional names, which are mostly derived from *-wacēnkē* (see Noun Derivation).

So a full Hkati, for a man named Hacı, born in northern *jejomähkattöl*, to his parents in the *matjascillar* family; he is half-Yasāw (biologically half-Stapal-half-Human) and gets the clan name of *yacáw*, which is blanket term for people of remote Yasāw heritage, and has racial connotations, would look like this:

Hacı matjascillar yacáwmawacän jejomähkattölwacatus.

“Hacı Matjascillar of the Yasāw from the Jejomähkattöl.”

Titles go after the given name.

Generic Aspect

The generic aspect is not marked with any tenses.

MALJENMAKÏR SIK BALLATÖ BOHRILÜK TOWA *WALS*

(Index with linguistic features according to WALS)

C. R. FOL

5/6/2024

Aclenle...

Chiritori

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Nominal Categories

30A: Number of Genders

Hkati has two “genders”, I prefer “noun class”, as “gender” evokes images of social gender, like a man and woman. The two classes are “animate” and “inanimate”. See below.

31A Sex-based and Non-sex-based Gender Systems

Hkati noun class is non-sex-based. It is based on animacy, see below.

32A Systems of Gender Assignment

Nouns are assigned their classes lexically, and semantically. The two classes are assigned as follows:

1. Animate: people, organisms; other living things, objects that are usually or naturally in obvious motion, or things that come from other living things.
2. Inanimate: everything else, including dead organisms and people, unnatural or abiotic things that are not in obvious motion, and man-made structures.

There is a section in *Möri Hkatilük* about animacy, see Animacy.

33A Coding of Nominal Plurality

With various suffixes, which serve various purposes, and can have different meanings with nouns depending on class. See Number.

34A Occurrence of Nominal Plurality

All nouns, and always obligatory. For example, *juran* “foot”; *jurantö* “feet”. See above.

35A Plurality in Independent Personal Pronouns

Expressed by a plural suffix, before any case suffixes; similarly, personal suffixes have a plural suffix added to the verb. See Conjugation.

36A The Associative Plural

The associative plural is a construction that forms the meaning “X and company” or “X and other people associated with X”, where “X” is the noun being pluralized. Hkati uses the same general-purpose additive suffix *-tö* for the associative, with a truncated form of the tribal plural *-mën*; resulting in: *-tömë*. See Number.

metatömë

“Meta and others.”

The associative plural can also be constructed without suffixes, in a couple of ways, like you might in English.

naromën metatën

“Meta’s people.”

37A—38A (Definiteness)

There is no definiteness in Hkati, context determines whether *set* is “the” or “a” table.

39A—40A (Inclusivity in ind. Pronouns and verbs)

Hkati does not make any distinction between inclusive and exclusive pronouns, be they independent or verbal.

41A Distance Contrasts in Demonstratives

Hkati has a two-way contrast in demonstratives, between that which is close to the speaker, or “proximal”, “this” (*ha*, *há*, *hawám*) and that which is further away (from the addressee or speaker), or “distal”, “that” (*hö*, *hák*, *hōwōm*). See Demonstratives.

42A Pronominal and Adnominal Demonstratives

Pronominal demonstratives are pronouns/anaphors, they refer to a previous part of an utterance or conversation; while adnominal demonstratives are like adjectives.

Hkati uses the same demonstratives for both purposes, but the pronominal ones can only stand in for adjectives and verb phrases (which is usually in the niche case of “X was Y, and Z was Y too”)³⁶—because, otherwise, *-ki* is used (see Anaphora)—while the adnominal ones function identically to adjectives.

Demonstratives have, along with proximal and distal forms, three classes—animate personal (for people); animate non-personal (for non-people animate nouns) and inanimate.

See Demonstratives for the paradigm.

43A Third Person Pronouns and Demonstratives

Third person pronouns (*se*, independent, *-Ø*, finite and simple infinite subject; *-bik*, complex infinite; see Conjugation) and demonstratives (see above).

44A Gender Distinctions in Independent Personal Pronouns

None.

45A Politeness Distinctions in Pronouns

None.

46A Indefinite Pronouns

There are a few indefinite pronouns in Hkati. Two are derived from interrogative words, one from a noun, and another is lexical. See Interrogative.

- *Narocik*, “someone”, diminutive of *naro* “person”.
- *Kamká*, “someone”, from *kam* “who”.
- *Kěkě*, “something, thing” for animate nouns. May be used as “someone”.
- *Kanaká*, “something” for inanimate nouns, potentially from *kunuie* “what thing”.

36 For this reason, no example of the either will be given, but there I one in Demonstratives.

47A Intensifiers and Reflexive Pronouns

Hkati expressed the reflexive voice with a suffix, *-tājār*, thus, it does not intensify using the reflexive like many languages do (think, “he himself wrote the letter” as opposed to “he wrote the letter himself”). Noun phrases and verb phrases can be “intensified” with the augmentative suffixes, see Diminutive; Augmentative.

Often these intensifications are untranslatable.

tiwribtirēmtah

“He himself ordered.” (?)

48A Person Marking on Adpositions

None.

49A Number of Cases

There are seven recognized cases, detailed in this section: Cases. Also see “63A Noun Phrase Conjunction.”

50A—51A (Case marking)

Cases are marked with suffixes and are symmetrical. See above.

52A Comitatives and Instrumentals

The comitative (“with, alongside (someone)”) and the instrumental (“with, via”) are differentiated in Hkati. The former uses the *kak* particle, and the latter *sik*. The comitative can also use an “eighth” case, see “63A Noun Phrase Conjunction” for information.

53A Ordinal Numerals

54A Distributive Numerals

55A Numeral Classifiers

56A Conjunctions and Universal Quantifiers

Conjunctions and universal classifiers are formally different in Hkati. *-makir* (see Number) can be used to form universal quantifiers, including those equivalent to “every”, “all”, and “each”.

<i>naromakir</i>	<i>këkëmakir</i>	<i>yükmakir</i>	<i>bilemakir</i>
“everyone”	“everything”	“every/all goats”	“each body”

57A Position of Pronominal Possessive Affixes

Suffixes.

Nominal Syntax

58A Obligatory Possessive Inflection

No obligatorily possessed nouns.

58B Number of Possessive Nouns

Not applicable.

59A Possessive Classification

None.

60A Genitives, Adjectives and Relative Clauses

Moderate differentiation; genitive-marked words are considered attributive adjectives, and function identically thereto; whereas relative clauses have their own construction—see Relative Clauses.

61A Adjectives without Nouns

A sentence can have a missing noun, with a noun meant for it, “I want the red one” (instead of, say, “ball”), by using the object anaphoric suffix *-ki*, see Anaphora, and demonstratives can be used anaphorically in the same way. This holds true for numbers too. The adjective without a noun is not marked like an object, because of *-ki*.

bisnë ketek anin bolesebarki

“I want the short one.”

62A Action Nominal Constructions

An “action nominal construction” is, to my knowledge, a construction, that turns a clause (usually finite) into an “action nominal”—for example: “I go to the store”, and “My going to the

store.” The latter can be used as a noun. Action nominals (ANs), in English, follow that general formula, where the subject possesses the nominalized verb (or gerund) and the rest is preserved (?). ANs can preserve a verbs information, like tense, aspect, number, etc., and, in Hkati, can be tenseless—as many are used generically (see Generic Aspect) or are ambiguous (when intransitive). The matter of this section is how ANs are constructed in Hkati.

Hkati is **double-possessive**; so the arguments in the AN are all marked with the genitive (see Cases). First a finite intransitive example:

comëw cumemeler lijici

“(The) army marches westward.”

The subject *comëw* is marked with the genitive suffix *-atën*, and placed after the verb phrase. The finite verb is marked with the action nominal suffix: *-jossën*. Any adverbs after the finite verb have a particle *tën* post-posed.

cumemelerjossën lijici tën comëwatën

cumeme -ler -jossën lijici tën comëw-atën

go.F.INTR-PL.SUBJ-AN west AN army -GEN

“(The) army’s westward march.”

Now, a finite transitive example:

saba metanë muladire

“Saba birthed Meta.”

Similarly to the intransitive ANC, the arguments become genitive and the subject is the last (most governing) genitive; the same suffix is used.

muladirejossën metatën sabatën

“Saba’s Meta’s birthing” or “Saba’s birth of Meta.”

Finally, a ditransitive example:

liialmënë annë bolesehatar

“I’m going to give you a fruit.”

Subject pronouns are not independent (see Pronouns), they are embedded in the verb with personal suffixes; that suffix must have

a shortened version of *-atën* inserted between it and the AN suffix, this being *-tën*.

bolesehatartënjossën liialmëtën antën

bolese -hat-ar -tën-jossën liialmë-tën an-atën

give.DITR.F-FUT-1.SUBJ-GEN-AN fruit -GEN 2 -GEN

“My going-to-giving of fruit to you” (approximately).

63A Noun Phrase Conjunction

Hkati is an “AND-language”, meaning that “and” (cumulative) and “with” (comitative) are differentiated. See Postpositions (?).

wa meta kajwatá cumemehatarlar

“I and Meta are going to walk to the store.”

kajwatá cumemehatar kak meta

“I’m going to walk to the store with Meta.”

“And”, *wa*, is used before *meta* as if it were *bis wa meta* “I and Meta”, and the verb encodes the first person (*bis*) and the plural subjects. Whereas “with” (*kak*) is used before *meta* and forms an adverbial, *kak meta* “with Meta”.

Without pronouns, “and” is used the same way, and “with” functions like “and”, with the plural subject suffix, and a third relator, a suffix *-inës* (a technical comitative case).

haci wa meta kajwatá cumemehatarlar

“Haci and Meta are going to walk to the store.”

haci kak metinës kajwatá cumemehatarlar

“Haci’s going to walk to the store with Meta.”

Sometimes, *wa* doesn’t get used at all.

haci meta kajwatá cumemehatarlar

“Haci and Meta are going to walk to the store.”

64A Nominal and Verbal Conjunction

Nominal and verbal conjunction are different; *wa* for noun phrases (see above for more detail), and *-we* (suffix) for verb phrases (see Conjunctions).

Verbal Categories

65A Perfective/Imperfective Aspect

The perfective is conflated in the past tense, along with the past imperfective. The present tense is generally continuous (imperfective), and the future is aspect-ambiguous.

66A—69A (Tense and Aspect)

The past is marked with various suffixes, *-re*, *-rēm*, *-eserēm*, and so on. They vary very little in finiteness and transitivity conjugation. The future is also marked, as is the present; the present is also continuous. See Verbs. There is no perfect aspect in Hkati. Tenses are marked with suffixes.

70A The Morphological Imperative

Hkati does not have “morphologically dedicated second-person imperatives”; the imperative is formed with a normal sentence, the 2nd person pronoun (marked on the verb as subject) and a vocative particle; no special forms. See Imperative.

71A The Prohibitive

Hkati forms the “prohibitive” with the “normal imperative” negated with the “normal negative”. See above.

72A Imperative-Hortative Systems

Hkati has “neither a maximal nor a minimal system.”

73A The Optative

Hkati has no inflectional optative, periphrasis is used instead; where “want”, “wish”, “dream”, and similar verbs are simple infinite to the verb wanted to be done—or used on their own. The present is used for things wanted now, that is, requests, while the future is used for more general statements of want.

silnē karicicīnokbam

“I want the bowl” or “Could I have the bowl?”

yörölēhatar karicīcitar

“I want to sing.”

Word Order

81A Order of Subject, Object and Verb

Hkati is a SOV language.

82A Order of Subject and Verb

Subject, then verb.

83A Order of Object and Verb

Object, then verb.

84A Order of Object, Oblique, and Verb

OXV for all except certain postpositions, adverbs, instrumental and comitative constructions.

85A Order of Adposition and Noun Phrase

Postpositions, or better to think of them as between noun phrases.

86A—89A (Order of Genitives, Adjectives, Demonstratives, and Numerals)

Hkati adjectives, genitive marked nouns, demonstratives, and numerals are always after the noun they modify.

bulkitö kalü anatën biier hö

“Those three tall fishermen of yours.”

Noun, Adjectives, Genitives, Numerals, Demonstratives.

88A Order of Relative Clause and Noun

Relative clause, and then the noun.

Simple Clauses

98A Alignment of Case Marking of Full Noun Phrases

Nominative is unmarked, accusative is marked, along with some locative cases, see Cases. Nominative-Accusative.

99A Alignment of Case Marking of Pronouns

The same as nouns.

100A Alignment of Verbal Person Marking

Verbs can take person suffixes, which depend on transitivity; so S and A are treated differently, and the object is not marked (well... sometimes it is... see Anaphora); thus I think it is Split alignment.

101A Expression of Pronominal Subjects

Pronominal subjects are marked with personal suffixes, see Conjugation and Anaphora.

102A Verbal Person Marking

A and P are marked separately.

105A Ditransitive Constructions: The Verb 'Give'

See Transitivity.

106—107A (Passive and Reciprocal Constructions)

Simple, marked with a suffix. See Conjugation.

108A—109B(Antipassive and Applicative Constructions)

None.

112A Negative Morphemes

Negative affix, see Negation.

116A Polar Questions

Interrogative verb morphology. See Interrogative.

117A Predicative Possession

Have-Possession, or simple statement of noun and genitive. Saying “X is Y’s” is not proper.

118A Predicative Adjectives

See Adjectives.

121A Comparative Constructions

See Comparative.

HKATTÖL

(The Hkati People)

C. R. FOL

20/6/2024

Aclenle...

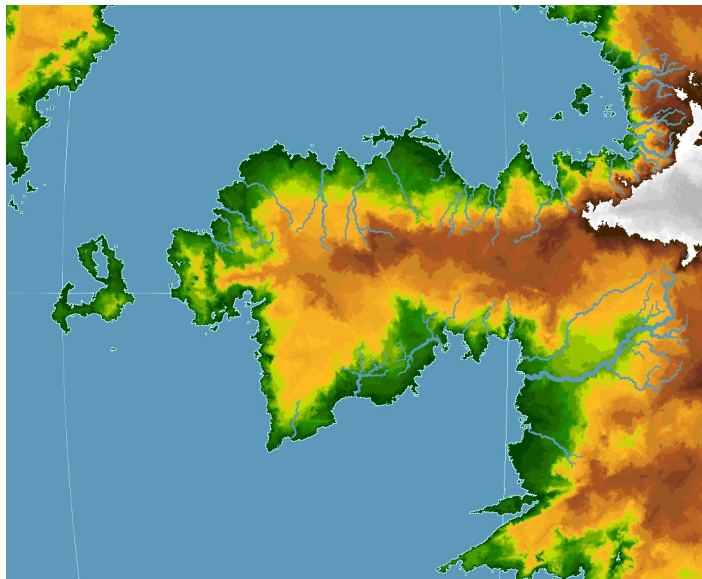
K.H.M.

Note

The fictional world of the Hkati is meant to be mostly realistic, and less fantastical. Furthermore, this chapter on Hkati society is not complete in its current form.

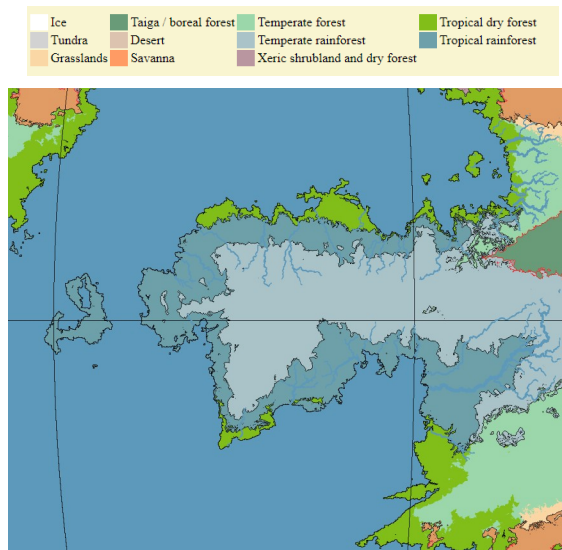
Location

The Hkati (*hkattöl*) call their homeland *jejömähkattöl*, literally “land of the Hkati”. *Jejömähkattöl* is located on a peninsula the Hkati call: *jejömtabratahtö* (land of the great mountains), located on the equator, and jutting out of the *lälëtahtö* mountains, more universally called the Orixreos.



(A heightmap of *jejömtabratahtö*, also called the West-Orixreos peninsula)

Most of the land is tropical rainforest, but up into the highlands and mountains it becomes temperate.



(A biome map, with legend)

The Hkati are humans; with their proximity to the equator (more or less, living on it), they have dark skin, varying in shades of brown. They live in the lowland tropical rainforests, the areas in green (heightmap) and darker-blue biome (biome map), along the large rivers that run down from the *lälëtahtö* mountains and their respective floodplains.

Their homeland is on the inter-tropical convergence zone, where the trade winds on the planet meet around the equator. As a result, there are frequent thunderstorms, *wirtitö*, and rain, *ricamartö*. There are four seasons, two wet, and two dry.

Diet

The biggest staple food is rice, *sětö*, followed by maize,³⁷ *yecilletö*. The most common livestock are goats, *yüktö*, *ailëntö*, and chickens, *malitö*, kept for what you'd expect, milk, meat, eggs, and, in the case of cows, labour. The Hkati also eat various fruits, vegetables, and beans suited for their tropical environment, such as papayas, *culatö*, cabbage, *nuntö*, and black beans, *rabatö*. They also, of course, fish for river fish, *rakabultö*.

Class

Hkati society is, like most, a class society, and most Hkati *jejömbattatö*, kingdoms, have the following classes: (1) *Battatö*. The ruling class of “kings”. This class is hereditary. They hold ultimate political and military authority; and control large tracts of land, and fortifications. They accumulate wealth through tribute and taxes, and other methods. (2) *Yátö*. Vassals to the *Battatö*. They control smaller areas of land, centered around castles. This class is hereditary. They accumulate wealth from taxing (sharecropping) the peasantry. (3) *Bīcahmirtö*. Military elite, responsible for the “security”, defense, and expansion of the kingdom, as well as the handling of any standing army, and organization of levied troops. This class is mostly hereditary. They receive stipends, and privileges from the lords they serve. (4) *Certirtö*. Priests and teachers, responsible mostly for social reproduction. Provided subsistence and protection by the lords—highly respected. This class is not hereditary, the children of scribes and lords train and do rituals to become priests. Priests bless the dead and land. (5) *Sicciltö*. Writers/scribes and administrators, who oversee land controlled by lords and kings, in exchange for their subsistence. This is a mostly hereditary class; the children of scribes become apprentices to their parents, and pick up the trade. (6) *Natahkitö*. Craftspeople and other skilled labourers, who own means of production for products such as: weapons, tools, and luxury items. They are mostly paid by the lords for weapons, and by scribes for paper, wood, ink, etc. This class is the second biggest. (7) *Juhetö*. The vast majority of the Hkati population. They are agricultural toilers, who work the land owned by the *Battatö* and *Yátö*. A portion of the harvest is given to the landowner, in exchange for not being killed (driven off the land). Families are typically tied to certain plots of land, but effectively no private property is among this class.

Below is a chart of these classes.

Battatö

The ruling class of “kings”. This class is hereditary. They hold ultimate political and military authority; and control large tracts of land, and fortifications. They accumulate wealth through tribute and taxes, and other methods

Yátö

Vassals to the Battatö. They control smaller areas of land, centered around castles. This class is hereditary. They accumulate wealth from taxing (sharecropping) the peasantry.

Bicahmirtö

Military elite, responsible for the “security”, defense, and expansion of the kingdom, as well as the handling of any standing army, and organization of levied troops. This class is mostly hereditary. They receive stipends, and privileges from the lords they serve.

Certirtö

Priests and teachers, responsible mostly for social reproduction. Provided subsistence and protection by the lords—highly respected. This class is not hereditary, the children of scribes and lords train and do rituals to become priests. Priests bless the dead and land.

Sicciltö

Writers/scribes and administrators, who oversee land controlled by lords and kings, in exchange for their subsistence. This is a mostly hereditary class; the children of scribes become apprentices to their parents, and pick up the trade.

Juhetö

The vast majority of the Hkati population. They are agricultural toilers, who work the land owned by the Battatö and Yátö. A portion of the harvest is given to the landowner, in exchange for not being killed (driven off the land). Families are typically tied to certain plots of land, but effectively no private property is among this class.

Natahkitö

Craftspeople and other skilled labourers, who own means of production for products such as: weapons, tools, and luxury items. They are mostly paid by the lords for weapons, and by scribes for paper, wood, ink, etc. This class is the second biggest.

Clothing

Hkati ethnic dress varies between social classes, but all have a few basic garments, *tünnürtö*, in common. The most ubiquitous of all articles is the *yaka*, a conical sun hat, typically 0.4 (approximately shoulder length on average) to 1 meter in diameter, made of straw, reeds, or other plant fibers. *Yakatö* are meant to protect from the sun, as many Hkati men shave their heads, or keep it very short, so the protection of the head and back of the neck is lost.

Next are *tättüntö*, which is a general term for underwear, or loincloths, which are often worn under clothes to cover the genitals.

Lower Classes

The peasantry, and craftspeople, typically wear simple, and compared to the upper classes, poor clothing, that is usually one colour, which is often muted or dark.

Lower class Hkati men and women are often totally topless, and when they are not, they wear *kikötö*, short-sleeved tunics (hip length). Both wear *látö*, wrap-around skirts that reach just below the knees, or *je*, pants.

On their feet, everyone wears *jitö*, sandals, or *jitahtö*, shoes (or “big sandals”).

Priests

Priests wear long-sleeved *kikötö*, and ankle-length *látö*, fastened with decorative belts called *mürtö*. They have veils known as *yüstö* that hang from the brim of their *yakatö*. Priests’ clothing are typically white and sky blue, the colour associated with the sky gods.

Kings

A king, or queen,³⁸ and their elected heir will wear a *tübbür*, “a finely-woven knee-length tunic...often very elaborate and dyed rare colours as a symbol of extravagant wealth”, underneath a *räk*, “a ceremonial robe...that extends to the ankles; they are richly decorated, from the chest to the collar, the robe is always white, and beneath that it is decorated with the *jasränëmläri* (clan name), and various patterns.”

Underneath the lower part (skirt?) of the *räk*, kings do not wear *látö*, because the *tübbür* serve that purpose.

A king’s *yaka* is typically wider, no wider than 1 meter, and decorated in the clan’s *koro*;³⁹ atop it is a type of saucer-shaped crown called a *wicere*, which is also worn by lords, but is smaller and identical to other lords’.

Lords

Lords wear similar apparel to kings, with some differences, the largest of which is extravagance; lords are expected to not dress as

38 *Batta* is a gender-neutral term, “monarch”, it can be king or queen, but I will just say “king” from here-on-out.

39 War flag, and the flag of the king’s clan.

rich or colourful as kings. Furthermore, the *räk* is often shortened to the knees, and the sleeves are only to the elbows; exposing the *je* (pants, Lords do not wear *tübbürtö* or *látö* except in some ceremonies) and forearms. The *räk* and *tübbür* are both fastened to the waist by a *mür* (belt).

As mentioned in the previous section, Lords wear *yakatö*, with *wiceretö*, but they are almost undecorated and smaller on purpose.

Every lord wears an *albe*, a light cape worn over the right shoulder, which has the *koro* of their king on it, and extends to the hips (the *koro* is meant to be visible over the lateral head of the shoulder).

Scribes

Scribes dress nowhere near the level of lords and kings, but still respectably. They wear *kikötö* and *je*, tunics and pants, often in one colour, such as silver, white, brown, or orange, and their *yakatö* are simple and undecorated.

Military Elite

The generals/military elite dress similarly to the scribes, but with more deliberate design to set them apart as a member thereof.

Their *kikötö* have a vest with their king's/lord's king's *koro* on it, and their *jetö* are black below knees, and whatever colour the tunic is above the knees.

The military elite do not wear *yakatö* around those of higher classes, and have a line of red paint, called the *bicahmirballa*, smeared below their hairline whenever in the presence of a king or in battle (though it would be obscured beneath their helmet).

Weaponry

Kings carry around a *cabnëtek*, a poignard-like knife underneath their *räk*; it is not intended to be used, as kings are protected by their retinue (*konkitö battatën*, “king's workers”), who are armed, and so are lords; generals, with *cabnëtö*, swords.

Religion

The Hkati are polytheists, and their “religion”, what they call *türjürhil* (or, “godliness”), is not entirely uniform across the *jejömähkattöl*. The most important word related to gods, *türjür*, the blanket term for a “god”, and a truncated form of it, *tür-*, can be found in many words related to gods or the supernatural.

The Hkati believe that they live by the *sämcättin*, which means “nose-highland”. They believe their peninsula is the head, and its mountains, the nose, of a great god, who was slain and whose body became the land, and whose blood became the water. This god is called *biliekki* (or, “builder”)—he was a god in the *cöweltöltürjürmën*, which translates to “sky gods”, the main pantheon. The sky gods consist of hundreds of *cotürjürowtö*, “little soldier gods”, which are understood as the stars in the night sky—one per star in the night sky (*sarsar*).

The *cotürjürowtö* have not been around forever, befitting of their name, they are an army, commanded by the *kamarboriltür*, the “moon god”, who flies the planet’s largest moon around the sky when it is visible. At the beginning of time, the *sarjimë* “dark war”, one of many *cöweltöljimëtö* “wars in heaven” to come, broke out—with the two major sides being *ciwetür*, the “sun god”, and the aforementioned *kamarboriltür*.

Ciwetür wages a revolution against the dark, cold, and lifeless universe. The *cotürjürowtö* are *toiamartö* “planets”, lifeless masses in space, who joined *kamarboriltür* to preserve the dark order.

During the *sarjimë*, *biliekki* was slain, and on top of the corpses of several other sky gods, formed the planet *tor*, which is what the Hkati call the world they live in. *Biliekki*’s body became *jejömmakir*, “every land”, and his blood became the oceans. This means that *tor* is not a “natural” planet, but a partly supernatural one, made from the flesh, bone, and blood (*ac*, *kën*, *yun*) of gods; hence the significance of sapient life on the planet.

In Hkati religion, humans, and other humanoids, are caught in between the war—watching it go back and forth; seemingly never

ending due to its cosmic time scale—and are obliged to serve whatever side rules over them; in the daytime, *ciwetürboril* (“sun god rulership”), they are to live their lives, carry on with society, and at night, *sarboril*, everything must go to sleep, and be still or dead. This theme results in a few interesting cultural patterns, such as:

- The Hkati do not fight at night;
- They pray at sunrise and sunset;
- Sex at night is sinful, it follows that the Hkati have sex during the daytime, often the early morning.

Tor is host to, ontop of natural life, supernatural beings, lesser gods and spirits called *kihancitürjürmën*, or “weather gods”. They are typically associated with the weather; notable ones include: *tümärtür*, a male rain god; *tabharsatür*, the female goddess of the first rain season, approximately in March; and *lënnëtürkitür*, the hurricane god.

The *kihancitürjürmën* are less like the ideas they embody, but rather deities that bring with them, or cast those phenomena—*tümärtür* is called a rain god because he brings or sends rain over the land; similarly with *tabharsatür*, she blesses the Hkati with the first rain season.

This is enough about religion for this volume...

Death

Hkati bury their dead as *cawmalök tabrasül*, literally “mountainous burial”. Peasants, *juhetö*, and proletarians, *lutkonkitö* are often not be able to do this, and so some corpses, *sänörtö*, are burried underneath the floors of houses, or in shallow graves in a dedicated graveyard, a *sänörköla*.

For the upper class—especially the *jasränmën*, or “clan-born”, those born as a member of clan’s ruling family, but also writers/scribes, *säckitö*, and military officers and commanders, *bicahmirowtö*—corpses are burried *cawmalök tabrasül*.

No matter the class, corpses will be dressed in the clothes they died in, and wrapped in a burial shroud called a *löktünnür*. For the lower classes, they typically have the dead's given name, *sötönhëmlän* written on the shroud, while the upper classes have the full name, especially the *jasränhëmläri*, or, “clan name”—because scribes don't work for free. Corpses in tombs will have their appropriate family name, *sümannahëmlän*, on every shroud.

Corpses which have been wrapped in a *löktünnür* and have had their names written on it, are *awansänör*, “good corpses”.

For the *cawmalök tabrasül*, an *awansänör* is carried by a procession, including living family members, to their highland tomb, or to an uninhabited part on the slope of the nearer mountains in the *sämcättin*. There, they are taken out of their shroud, and lay on top of it on their back like a blanket, and relatives have until the next sunset to mourn, before they must leave the body alone—the Hkati believe that at night, the soul of the dead wander the mountains, mourning and celebrating their lives. Because the body is exposed, it decomposes fully to bone within, at most, a month; typically, on the month anniversary of the death, the family return to give an offering to the bones, and some erect small, painted stone or precious metal posts, to mark the place of burial even after the bones have all been taken away by animals.

Bathing

Most Hkati bathe in *cümatüskëtö* (literally, “places to bathe”), which are segregated by gender.

Manners; Honorifics

All honorifics are used with the appropriate vocative particle, see Pronouns. There are three main ones, *tönö* to address a lord or king, by anyone, but usually fellow lords and kings; *törö* to address someone fifteen or more years older than the speaker; and *yahür* used by lower classes to address only their own lord or king. Honorifics are ways to show respect or deference, when used appropriately. *Törö* used for peers is a playful way to address.

The Hkati have an idiom, *tar sik kustö*, “to compete with the eyes”, which refers to looking at someone above you in rank, power, wealth, authority etc., in the eyes—which is understood as a challenge, and is very disrespectful; accidental, momentary eye contact is ignored, but prolonged is not.

Competing-with-the-eyes is something that is only for lords and kings, sometimes priests as well, but nobody has to do it to anyone of any other class except those two/three.

Furthermore, when approaching someone of higher rank and class, it is customary to wait silently for them to ask you to speak; and then bow slightly. Soldiers, *cotö*, have to bow with their sword hand on their heart.

Titles go after given names.

*Haci cahbul rikurá yá yüjü sanmawacän cumemerëmwe cerkusrëm.
Yá setën será kēkērēm, “tönö annar riku yá,” cürēmki, “jet hire
mabbërabtibamlar”*

BOWEKARTTESMITÖ KETEK

(Phrase Book)

C. R. FOL

29/6/2024

Greetings

[General greetings, formal and informal greetings to different classes, introducing oneself or others]

General

The way to call someone over to you, is to say *ja!* It is a truncation of the verb *jalan*, which means “to call” or “inform”.

Ja! may be answered with *jata?* A compound of *ja* and *ta*, “hey” and “why?”.

Goodbyes

[Formal, informal goodbyes]

Requests and Courtesies

[Please, thank you, sorry, excuse me, may]

Praise

Insults

Vulgar Language

Expressions of Emotion

Notes

- i Furthermore, unmarked third person singular.
- ii "A term used in grammatical description to refer to a noun which denotes a group of entities, and which is formally differentiated from other nouns by a distinct pattern of number contrast (and, in some languages, morphologically)"
- iii Also an anaphoric suffix, see Anaphora.
- iv A term for the Jorophosians, and to some extent the Āwārè.
- v /aŋə ʒal.an.re.bam.sar.xe juk.to bis.βafən af.ten.røem.bar/
- vi *senë jassusrejibam* "I was hit by them" and *hacinë metanë jassusreji* "Haci was hit by Meta".
- vii These are glossed as the appropriate tense, not ...-DITR-[tense]
- viii Here, the gloss says "OBJ" instead of "ACC"; accusative is the case which marks the object, but "OBJ" is unmarked yet objective.
- ix This is also an idiom, *cümaikën yörölë* or *yörölikën cüma*, which means to "enjoy a moment of happiness regardless of what others think", like singing in excitement in a public bathhouse.